1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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there is light laughter and gay voices. One group of men is at the men's house. Lovers have gone into the privacy of the deep bush, which even the moon cannot penetrate. The evening passes happily for everyone and bedtime comes close to midnight.

The days are full, but not hurried. In addition to the normal work there are the many feasts to prepare for, dances to be rehearsed for coming rites, and other preparations for ritual activities, which consume a large amount of time. To-day, also, the native is compelled to keep the road in good condition, and this work lessens the time for his own labour.[1] The native habit is to take time off when he is very tired or has nothing to do. For instance, after a strenuous three or four days of mortuary rites he sleeps for a whole day. But I did not see any healthy men or women spend many days in idleness. They were busy, with suitable intervals for leisure, and, on the whole, they lead an active life, but one without hurry or tension. No exact hour or day is set far in advance for an elaborate rite, but when the preparations are finished, the rite will be carried out.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

This daily life is set within a social structure which may be likened to an elastic configuration, functioning as the individuals live within it. In this configuration are certain fundamental elements which are chosen for detailed observation and study. These elements are the groupings of people on the basis of kinship, locality, and sex. The place of an individual within the structure and his various relationships with other people are largely determined (in so far as they are socially determined) by blood relationships, place of residence, and sex.

[1] He is required to give three days a week for this labour.

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Corresponding to these stimuli there is the sociability and camaraderie among the women who cook communally.

There is very little, almost no direction of work. The techniques are well known, and it is not necessary for anyone to give directions to scrape taro or thatch a roof. The work follows the traditional rules learned in childhood. A certain direction or organization occurs in fishing, when the man who sights the fish gives the call, but this could hardly be called bossing. This lack of leadership in communal undertakings is quite striking to the observer. One or two men act as masters of ceremonies and make the necessary speeches at these rites, as, for example, Sola and Buibui at the initiation rites at Ponatlege, but there was no one man or woman bossing the communal cooking preparations for these rites. They have been initiated by those most interested, and the work then follows along traditional lines. There is a similar lack of policing at the inter-village rites where hundreds of people are gathered together By some kind of mutual consent the crowd does not press unduly upon the clearing used as a stage, and are considerate of each other in their desire to see the rites. This holds for rites lasting several days and nights, when both onlookers and participants have had little sleep and are weary. I witnessed many such rites, and never did I see any pushing or quarrelling for advantageous places, such as marks similar crowds in our society.

The newly introduced Government work on the roads is in direct contrast with the native manner of working at their own occupations. All natives, male and female, are required to give three days a week to work on the road, mending the holes in it and keeping it in good condition. On these days the "Luluai," Government-appointed chief, blows his conch shell early in the morning to assemble the people. They come to the road in front of his house, the women standing or squatting (squatting on toes the usual position) in one group apart from the men.

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position) in one group apart from the men. The "Luluai" then gives them the directions for the work, telling them what part of the road is to be repaired, and what is to be done, and he divides them into working groups. They then separate to work as directed..

For this road work there is no tradition. The assembling to receive directions is as much an innovation as the work itself. Not only is there no tradition, but there are none of the usual stimuli. It is "forced labour." There is no pay for it, and it is done through fear of the powerful white Government which has subdued them. There is no singing, no sociability, but instead a lack of the usual zest, a sullenness which is completely lacking from native work, and a resentful weariness at the end of the day. It is difficult for a native to understand why he should give half the time which he formerly gave to his gardens and rites to making a road, by which the white men set such a big value.

DISTRIBUTION

We have seen how people of Lesu work and what they produce. What becomes of the products of their labour? What is the system of distribution, as opposed to the production just described?

That part of the produce of labour is used for immediate consumption by the worker is obvious. The taro from the garden forms the staple of the daily meals of the man and wife who have planted the garden. The man who initiates the building of a house, working on it himself and paying others for their assistance, lives in the house when it is completed. But production for immediate consumption does not tell the whole story.

There are several different forms of exchange which are part of the system of distribution. (1) Reciprocal exchange between individuals and between groups, when exact equals

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more interdependent.

The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Maiom and Pinigindu.

The progress of European organizations has transformed the life of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *malagans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line, excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Luluai and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

which gives each of them what they lack. In the vicinity of Lambuso, Pinigindu, Lemasong and Lugagun are sago swamps, which are relied upon in time of famine to support the people of the lower road, the owners then reaping large supplies of shell-money by selling the sago. 438 [261]

Dry spells from time to time produce food shortages, but as a rule these are apparently not very serious. In 1914 (?), however, no rain fell for about a year (?), and the people were in great distress. The whole country suffered from drought, and, excepting from the sago swamps, there was practically no food procurable. The period of drought and famine culminated in a series of destructive bush fires along the whole line of coast, bush and mountain ranges, and, from the graphic descriptions given to me, everything perished—wallabies, in fact, have scarcely been seen since. It is extremely probable that a great loss of life followed this period of famine. The natives said that only those with plenty of shell-money were able to keep themselves supplied with sago. People scattered far and wide, especially in the direction of Tabr, looking for food. 731

The natives now divide their time between work in their gardens and work on road maintenance, and it is possible that in some areas the demands of the road at times lead to neglect of garden work. The people of the mountain villages have villages on the coast, to which they come for a few days when their road services are due. I think this division of work and the areas for which the various villages are responsible should be made the subject of a special investigation by the district officials. Mr. Waugh, the District Officer, has in mind a scheme for the maintenance of a mobile road gang, with adequate transport facilities. If something of the kind were possible the natives could spend more time in their gardens and coco-nut groves. 421 491 651

HOUSING.

When I first went down the Kavieng road in 1924 most of the natives' houses were small, neat-looking, rectangular structures built on piles some feet above the ground. This was a standard pattern that had been introduced by the District Officials. On this occasion, however, I noticed that in most of the villages the people were living in their old type of house. Whether these are healthier than the introduced structures I cannot tell, but it seems to me much better to improve the structure they desire to live in than to force them to build houses which they will probably vacate as soon as the Government official's back is turned. The type of house, the erection of it, and everything connected with it, is definitely part of native culture and as such should be preserved as far as possible. 342 362